

Message Text

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S E C R E T TEL AVIV 6817

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PBOR IS
SUBJ: DAYAN'S THINKING ON EVOLUTION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

REF: TEL AVIV 3903

SUMMARY. DAYAN WANTS ESTABLISHMENT IN NEAR FUTURE OF FOUR REGIONS, TWO IN GAZA STRIP AND TWO IN WEST BANK, WHICH EVENTUALLY WOULD EACH BE GOVERNED IN SOME MEASURE BY LOCALLY ELECTED COUNCIL. UNDER NEW LABOR PARTY PROGRAM FOR OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OVER NEXT FOUR YEARS, DAYAN EXPECTS PRIVATE ISRAELI LAND PURCHASES TO BE LIMITED TO AREAS ON WHICH THERE IS GOI CONSENSUS AS TO NEED FOR THEIR PERMANENT RETENTION BY ISRAEL UNDER FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT, I.E. TULKARM AREA ALONG PRE-1967 JORDAN-ISRAEL LINE AND AREAS AROUND JERUSALEM. END SUMMARY.

1. DEPUTY TRANSPORT MINISTER AND DAYAN CONFIDANT YAACOBI TOLD EMBOFF THAT IN DAYAN'S THINKING, REFUGEE REHABILITATION AND AREA DEVELOPMENT IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OVER NEXT FOUR YEARS SHOULD FACILITATE BEGINNING OF LOCAL POLITICAL AUTONOMY FOR INHABITANTS. AS YAACOBI HAD EXPLAINED TO EMBOFF MAY 16 (REFTEL), IT WAS ARTICLE OF FAITH FOR DAYAN THAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS FOR POPULATION OF TERRITORIES WOULD BRING STEADY DECLINE IN TENSIONS AND

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GROWING INTEREST IN COOPERATION WITH ISRAEL. ACCORDING TO YAACOBI, DAYAN ENVISAGES ESTABLISHMENT DURING NEXT FOUR YEARS OF FOUR AUTONOMOUS REGIONS, EACH TO BE GOVERNED IN SOME MEASURE BY OWN ELECTED COUNCIL: SOUTH GAZA, NORTH GAZA, JUDEA, AND SAMARIA.

YAACOBI SAID DAYAN'S THINKING HAD NOT GONE SO FAR AS CONSIDERATION OF EVENTUAL FEDERATIVE COUNCIL FOR THE FOUR REGIONS TOGETHER. DAYAN INTENTIONALLY HAD NOT COME TO CONCLUSION ABOUT MANY SUCH QUESTIONS, PREFERMING TO LET EXPERIENCE BE HIS GUIDE, BUT HE HAD OPEN MIND.

2. DAYAN'S FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE, YAACOBI CONTINUED, WAS INTER-TWINING OF DESTINIES OF ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLES. HE WANTED TIME AND FREE HAND TO WORK TOWARD THIS. IF FORCED TODAY TO DRAW BORDERS, HE WOULD PROBABLY INSIST ON ORDERS AND/OR LOCAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS MAKING JUDEA (SOUTHERN WEST BANK) AND MUCH OF SAMARIA(NORTHERN WEST BANK) PART OF ISRAEL, LEAVING GAZA AND REST OF SAMARIA UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL, AND RETAINING SUBSTANTIAL PART OF EASTERN SINAI (INSIDE STRAIGHTLINE FROM POINT A FEW KILOMETERS EAST OF EL ARISH TO SHARM EL-SHEIKH) AS DEFENSIVE BUFFER. UNDER SUCH ARRANGEMENT HE MIGHT CALL FOR GRANTING OF ISRAELI CITIZENSHIP TO INDIGENOUS INHABITANTS OF GAZA STRIP AND JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP TO 1948 REFUGEES IN GAZA (JUDEA POPULATION WOULD REMAIN JORDANIANS).

3. GIVEN PASSAGE OF TIME AND PEACFUL EVOLUTION, YAACOBI BELIEVED DAYAN WOULD BE READY FOR MUCH GREATER ISRAELI FLEXIBILITY ON TERRITORIAL ISSUES. HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE LARGE PART OF SAMARIA REVERT TO JORDAN, WITH TULKARM AREA, AREA SOUTH OF RAMALLAH, AND OF COURSE MOST OF JORDAN RIVER VALLEY BEING INCORPORATED INTO ISRAEL, AND WITH GAZA AND JUDEA BECOMING AUTONOMOUS REGIONS INHABITED BY BOTH ISRAELI AND JORDANIAN CITIZENS. YAACOBI REITERATED HIS CONVICTION THAT DAYAN WAS THE ONE ISRAELI LEADER IMAGINATIVE ENOUGH AND SUFFICIENTLY SENSITIVE TO ARAB FEELINGS TO BE ABLE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN ACTUAL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD BE UNTHINKABLE TO ISRAEL IN THE ABSTRACT. DAYAN REPRESENTED ONLY PROMISE OF EVENTUAL MIDDLE EAST PEACE.

4. IN REVIEWING CONTEXTS OF NEW LABOR PARTY PROGRAM FOR OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, YAACOBI IMPLIED HE PERSONALLY QUESTIONED VALUE AND PRACTICALITY OF DAYAN'S SCHEME OF CITY OF YAMIT IN RAFAH JUNCTION AREA AND ESPECIALLY ADJACENT DEEPWATER PORT. ON LAND SALES TO
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PRIVATE ISRAELI FIRMS, YAACOBI SAID DAYAN INTENDED TO PERMIT THESE ONLY IN AREAS WHICH GOI GENERALLY AGREED WERE TO BE RETRAINED BY ISRAEL UNDER ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT, SUCH AS TULKARM AREA AND SMALL AREA NORTH OF JERUSALEM . DAYAN WANTED AUTHORIZATION OF PRIVATE LAND SALES FOR PURPOSES OF ENCOURAGING ISRAELI INVESTMENT IN LABOR-INTENSIVE INDUSTRIES TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR LOCAL POPULATION.

5. COMMENT: (A) DAYAN HAS FLUCTUATED SINCE 1971 ON NOTION OF JORDANIAN ROLE IN GAZA: IN LENGTHY SEPT 16, 1971 INTERVIEW WITH HAARETZ, DAYAN FIRMLY OPPOSED IT, BUT MORE RECENTLY HE HAS BEEN OPENMINDED ON IT(SEE REFTEL). AS FOR CITIZENSHIP FOR GAZA REFUGEES, DAYAN IN AFORMENTIONED INTERVIEW SPOKE FAVORABLY

OF IDEA OF GIVING THEM ISRAELI CITIZENSHIP, AND ON AT LEAST ONE OTHER OCCASION SINCE THEN IS SAID TO HAVE REMARKED THAT ISRAEL MAY SOME DAY HAVE TO INTEGRATE GAZA REFUGEES. THEREFORE, PERHAPS YAACOBI INADVERTENTLY REVERSED DAYAN'S IDEA AS TO WHICH CITIZENSHIP, JORDANIAN OR ISRAELI, WOULD GO TO REFUGEES VERSUS INDIGENOUS GAZANS (PARA 2 ABOVE).

(B) IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT YAACOBI HAS NOW REVERSED HIMSELF ON WHETHER DAYAN WOULD LIKE TO SEE RAMALLAH INCORPORATED INTO GREATER JERUSALEM OR NOT (REFTEL), HAVING CAREFULLY STATED IN PRESENT CONVERSATION THAT DAYAN WANTS JERUSALEM EXPANDED NORTH TOWARD RAMALLAH BUT NOT INCLUDING IT.

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